

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-10 SAM-01 /064 W
----- 058902

R 101403Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1687

INFO USINT ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TRIPOLI 1213

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR LY

SUBJECT: QADHAFI ON ARAB UNITY, RELATIONS WITH EGYPT
AND TUNISIA AT LIBYAN PARTY CONGRESS

REF: TRIPOLI 1182, 1196

SUMMARY: DURING LIBYAN ARAB SOCIALIST UNION CONGRESS,
QADHAFI SOUNDED CONCILIATORY NOTE ON RELATIONS WITH EGYPT.
HE EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR PAST EGYPTIAN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE,
AND SAID EGYPTIANS HAD INFORMED HIM THERE WOULD BE NO MORE
WITHDRAWALS OF EGYPTIAN EXPERTS AND TEACHERS. QADHAFI
ALSO GAVE HIS VERSION OF WHAT HAPPENED AT TUNISIAN ISLAND
OF DJERBA WHEN HE AND PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA AGREED LAST JAN
BRIEFLY TO UNITE THEIR TWO COUNTRIES. PAN-ARAB AS EVER,
QADHAFI TALKED DELEGATES INTO OPENING MEMBERSHIP IN ASU
TO ALL BROTHER ARABS, AND SUGGESTED CONFERENCE RECOMMEND
TO RCC SENDING OF DELEGATIONS TO TUNISIA, EGYPT, AND SYRIA
TO DISCUSS UNITY. HE AVOIDED HARDLINE RHETORIC OF HIS RECENT
SPEECHES ABOUT WORN-OUT ARAB REGIMES WHICH STAND IN WAY
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OF POPULAR WILL. END SUMMARY.

1. AFTER SOME TWENTY-FOUR HOURS OF PUBLIC DEBATE SPREAD OVER FIVE DAYS, ALL OF WHICH WAS DOMINATED BY QADHAFI, LIBYAN ARAB SOCIALIST UNION CONGRESS ENDED ON NOV 9. QADHAFI SAW THAT MOST OF CONFERENCE TIME WAS SPENT ON INTERNAL MATTERS, AND WE ARE REPORTING ON IMPLICATIONS OF THESE DEBATES BY SEPTEL. MOST DISCUSSION OF EXTERNAL ISSUES WAS IN FORM OF LOW-KEY LECTURES BY QADHAFI TO DELEGATES, DEFENDING HIS RECORD, AND PROMISING CONTINUITY.

2. EGYPT: QADHAFI'S TONE WHEN DISCUSSING RELATIONS WITH EGYPT WAS DISTINCTLY CONCILIATORY, IF NOT CHASTENED. HE SAID NOV 7 HE HAD BEEN INFORMED BY EGYPTIANS RECENTLY THERE WOULD BE NO FURTHER WITHDRAWAL OF EGYPTIAN TEACHERS AND EXPERTS, AND HE WELCOMED THIS DEVELOPMENT. EGYPTIANS HAD CONTRIBUTED MUCH TO LIBYA IN PAST, AND LIBYA WAS GRATEFUL. HE EVEN HINTED THERE WAS SOME HOPE EGYPTIAN MILITARY ADVISERS MIGHT BE SENT BACK. EARLY IN CONFERENCE QADHAFI HAD PUBLICLY HUMILIATED HIS MINISTER OF INFORMATION (TRIPOLI 1182) AND CALLED LIBYAN MEDIA "A MESS" WITHOUT REALLY EXPLAINING WHY. IT BECAME CLEAR AS CONFERENCE WENT ON THAT THIS WAS RELATED TO HIS DISPLEASURE, REAL OR FEIGNED, AT ANTI-EGYPTIAN MEDIA CAMPAIGN OF RECENT MONTHS. ONE OFFICIAL IN DEFENSE OF MINISTRY OF INFORMATION DECLARED "BEFORE HISTORY" THAT MEDIA HAD ACTED ON THEIR OWN IN ANTI-EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN. QADHAFI AND RCC HAD TRIED WITHOUT SUCCESS TO RESTRAIN THEM, HE IMPLIED. SPEAKING OF FAILURE OF EGYPTIAN-LIBYAN UNITY, QADHAFI SAID THERE WAS MUCH TO BE LEARNED FROM PAST FAILURES, AND LIBYA WOULD PUT LESSONS TO USE IN FUTURE. SLOGAN WHICH HAS APPEARED IN PUBLIC PLACES AND ON OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS IN RECENT MONTHS, "BEWARE OF EVIL FROM HIM FOR WHOM YOU HAVE DONE A FAVOR", A DIG AT EGYPTIANS, IS TO BE REPLACED BY ARABIC EQUIVALENT OF "LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF", QADHAFI ANNOUNCED.

3. TUNISIA: QADHAFI ALSO DISCUSSED RELATIONS WITH TUNISIA, AND GAVE HIS VERSION OF WHAT HAPPENED AT HIS DJERBA MEETING WITH BOURGUIBA. IT WAS WRONG TO SAY, AS SOME PEOPLE DID, THAT DJERBA DECLARATION OF UNITY HAD NOT BEEN PREPARED FOR, QADHAFI CLAIMED. TUNISIAN-LIBYAN TALKS HAD BEEN GOING ON CONFIDENTIAL

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FOR FOUR YEARS BEFORE DJERBA. JOINT COMMITTEES HAD BEEN FORMED, A JOINT LIBYAN-TUNISIAN VILLAGE HAD BEEN SET UP ON BORDER, LIBYA HAD ABOLISHED VISA REQUIREMENTS FOR TUNISIANS, AND PRIME MINISTERS OF TWO COUNTRIES HAD AGREED TO MEET REGULARLY EVERY THREE MONTHS. PROMPTED BY JALLUD, QADHAFI ADDED THAT LIBYA HAD SUGGESTED THAT OFFSHORE RESOURCES BE DECLARED COMMON PROPERTY OF TWO COUNTRIES. GROUNDWORK HAD THUS BEEN LAID FOR DJERBA MEETING, WHICH

HAD BEEN CALLED SPECIFICALLY TO DISCUSS UNITY. AT FIRST BOURGUIBA HAD SUGGESTED AT DJERBA THAT MORE COMMITTEES BE FORMED, QADHAFI SAID, BUT QADHAFI HAD OBJECTED THAT THIS WAS TO GO AT MATTER BACKWARDS. HE HAD LEARNED FROM HIS EXPERIENCE WITH EGYPT THAT GRADUAL APPROACH WAS NO GOOD. UNITY SHOULD BE DECLARED FIRST, AND THEN DETAILS LIKE UNITING GOVERNMENTS, ARMIES, ETC. WOULD FALL INTO PLACE. IMPORTANT THING WAS TO ESTABLISH PRINCIPLE. BOURGUIBA HAD FINALLY BEEN CONVINCED OF LOGIC OF THIS APPROACH, QADHAFI CLAIMED, AND TWO MEN HAD MET ALONE AND DRAFTED DJERBA DECLARATION. QADHAFI HAD EXPECTED TO GO ON TALKING ABOUT LANGUAGE, DATE OF ANNOUNCEMENT, ETC., BUT SUDDENLY BOURGUIBA HAD SAID, "I DON'T WANT TO HEAR ANY MORE" AND HAD SIGNED ON THE SPOT. HE HAD HANDED QADHAFI HIS PEN, AND QADHAFI HAD SIGNED TOO. QADHAFI HAD SUGGESTED THAT REFERENDUM ON UNITY BE HELD TWELVE DAYS LATER IN BOTH COUNTRIES, BUT BOURGUIBA HAD WANTED IT HELD IN SIX DAYS, BECAUSE, QADHAFI SAID WITH A SMILE, "HE WAS RELEASED FROM PRISON ON THAT DAY OR SOMETHING". BOURGUIBA HAD ALSO INSISTED, OVER QADHAFI'S OPPOSITION, THAT AGREEMENT BE ANNOUNCED IMMEDIATELY. QADHAFI HAD AGREED WITH SOME RELUCTANCE, BECAUSE HE DID NOT WANT ANY FANFARE AND DEMONSTRATIONS. DJERBA AGREEMENT WAS STILL VALID ("I STILL HAVE HIS SIGNATURE", SAID QADHAFI), AND THERE HAD BEEN NO DEVELOPMENTS IN LIBYAN-TUNISIAN RELATIONS SINCE.

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-10 SAM-01 /064 W

----- 058590

R 101403Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1688

INFO USINT ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

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AMEMBASSY TUNIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TRIPOLI 1213

4. QADHAFI SUGGESTED CONFERENCE RECOMMEND THAT CCC SEND DELEGATIONS TO CHIEFS OF STATE OF EGYPT, SYRIA, AND TUNISIA TO EXPLORE WAYS OF MOVING TOWARDS UNITY, AND THAT CONFERENCE WRITE LETTERS TO THESE CHIEFS OF STATE IN "BROTHERLY TERMS". HE CALLED ON SYRIA AND EGYPT AS MEMBERS OF "UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC" TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO ATTEND FEDERAL MEETINGS, AND TO RE-ACTIVATE FEDERAL MACHINERY, WHICH WAS SUFFERING FROM NEGLECT (OBVIOUSLY QUITE AN UNDERSTATEMENT). SUCH MATTERS AS ATTENDANCE AT GENEVA CONFERENCE, WAR AND PEACE, SHOULD PROPERLY BE DISCUSSED AT FEDERAL LEVEL. FEDERATION WAS WILL OF ARAB MASSES, AND COULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO DIE.

5. IN GENERAL, QADHAFI WAS RESTRAINED (FOR HIM) IN HIS ACCOUNT OF STATUS OF UNITY EFFORTS AND RELATIONS WITH HIS NEIGHBORS. IN SEVERAL RECENT SPEECHES HE HAS RAILED AGAINST "WORN-OUT ARAB REGIMES" WHICH FRUSTRATE WILL OF ARAB MASSES, BUT HE GENERALLY AVOIDED THIS KIND OF TALK DURING QONFERENCE. AT ONE POINT HE SUGGESTED THAT DELEGATES CONCENTRATE ON INTERNAL MATTERS SINCE BUILDING A STRONG
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LIBYA WAS ONE WAY TO ARAB UNITY, FIRST TIME WE HAVE HEARD THIS FROM HIM. HIS LINE HAS ALWAYS BEEN THAT UNITY IS PRECONDITION FOR DEVELOPMENT. WE DO NOT SUGGEST THAT HE IS CHANGING HIS SPOTS, HOWEVER, AND INDEED HE SPECIFICALLY SAID SEVERAL TIMES THAT LIBYAN POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, ETC. WOULD NEVER CHANGE.

6. LAST ACTION OF CONFERENCE WAS RESOLUTELY PAN-ARAB. IN RESPONSE TO QADHAFI'S EARLIER ANGRY TAUNTS THAT ASU MEMBERS COULD NOT CALL THEMSELVES REAL ARAB NATIONALISTS AS LONG AS MEMBERSHIP WAS RESTRICTED TO LIBYANS (TRIPOLI 1196 NOTAL), CONGRESS VOTED (ON ITS SECOND TRY) TO OPEN MEMBERSHIP TO ALL BROTHER ARABS. "THIS IS NOW A PAN-ARAB CONGRESS", QADHAFI ANNOUNCED, AND CHANTS OF "ARAB, ARAB, ARAB" ROSE IN HALL. VOICE OF ONE FARMER, WHO OBJECTED SENSIBLY THAT WHILE HE WAS AS GOOD AN ARAB NATIONALIST AS ANYONE, THIS WAS NO WAY TO RUN AN ORGANIZATION, DAMPENED SPIRITS ONLY A LITTLE.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, ARAB, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 NOV 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974TRIPOL01213
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740324-0041
From: TRIPOLI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741155/aaaabusg.tel
Line Count: 219
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: TRIPOLI 1182, 1196
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18 JUN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <18 JUN 2002 by rowelle0>; APPROVED <01 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: QADHAFI ON ARAB UNITY, RELATIONS WITH EGYPT AND TUNISIA AT LIBYAN PARTY CONGRESS
TAGS: PFOR, LY, EG
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005